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Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma
Mohave

The settlements were scattering and constantly shifting within this area. Houses were scattered, not in compact clusters. The Maricopa-Halchidhoma settlement near Maricopa Wells about 1850, for instance, contained houses one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet apart, and extended perhaps for two miles. By the middle of the last century, the accumulated losses from Yuma-Mohave attacks had become so great, that for protection communities were settled more compactly.

In 1852 Bartlett described these groups. "The villages consist of groups of from twenty to thirty habitations, surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields, intersected in every direction by acequias, which lead the water from the Gila."[36]

The shifting locus of the settlement seems based on an old habit. When someone died, his residence was burned, and the family reestablished themselves elsewhere. In fact, several related families would commonly decide to relocate. They might go but a mile or so, but this would furnish a nucleus for a new community. Other families would soon follow. Because of this, practically every inch of the valley from Sacate to Gila Crossing had at one time or another been the site of dwellings. The practice is ancient: it was tremendously accelerated in recent times by the rapid decimation under attack and epidemic.

Some of the shifting was due to seasonal residence. The villages were on higher land away from the river, beyond the reach of winter and spring floods. The fields, in the bottom land subject to inundation, contained scattered summer residences:[37] the regular earth-covered houses, needed against rain. In winter, the Maricopa gathered in more compact communities on higher ground.

A few names of topographic features and place names were recorded. The Gila had no name: it is merely ʔaa', "water," "river." The Salt was ʔaacʔol, "one river," so named, Mrs. Redbird thought, because, unlike the Gila, it has no affluents in the plain. (Its modern name is ʔaasaʔl, "salty water.") Hasayampa Creek was ʒatsikuve'aa, "hard canyon." The Colorado was xa'kwiθa, "red water." The country about Sacate, and perhaps the river itself have "always" been called ʒil. The district farther down the Gila toward the Salt River junction was 'ic'llyamu'e ('ic', "screw bean mesquite"), from the quantity of mesquite

[36] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 233.

[37] Where Bartlett saw them in the summer of 1852 (*loc. cit.*).

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423 own the land: we all owned it, so that a man could choose what land he pleased." Women also owned fields, that is, normally only widows who had no male members of their families to plant for them.

[133] Since floods were slow and mild on the Gila, a stream with low gradient and wide flood plains, there were no difficulties caused by a marauding stream necessitating relocation of the fields.

Boundaries came into dispute: such quarreling had its special name, ɣamĺltŏ'tà ak,e'vàm, "[boundaries] bristling side by side." This was one of the rare occasions when the dead were named, not in insult, but as warrant of ownership. "My father had his land over to there, but when you took it you pushed it [the boundary] over to here"; to which the other would reply, "No, my land extended farther to your side." Exasperating and [578] drawn-out quarrels arose over minute pieces of land. If they [627] finally reached the fighting stage, a third man was called on to decide. He might say, "Your land is good enough to that place, so give up this little piece for his benefit, so he will not have any more to say," or he would divide the disputed patch equally. [171] There were, however, no pushing contests or stick fights over disputed boundaries in the manner of the Mohave.[20]

Cultivation in all its stages was man's work, but gathering the 462 harvest was woman's alone. At that time men were busy making [343] the store houses for pumpkins and watermelons. An old woman, with no men to help her, would, of course, plant for herself.

It is now difficult, with the old fields long done away with, to 423 discover what the ownership of field tracts may have been. But 428 it seems to have followed on this male occupation with cultivation that fields were, on the whole, regarded as the personal possessions of men. Inheritance was specifically said to be in the male line. Normally when a man died, the land was inherited by his immediate family: his widow, sons and daughters. Ultimately it came into the possession of the children. A daughter would get some one to plant for her. It may well be that daughters did not transmit their claim.

423 ●768 During the period of mourning, the survivors made no use of

[20] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 744.

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the land, allowing it to lie fallow for a year, provided they were able to live by gathering wild products. But if a widow had young children dependent on the crops, they would plant the season following (half a year later). On the owner's death they invited others to turn horses into his tract to clear it off as quickly as possible. If the crop was ripe the widow might tell relatives or neighbors to take it, "because while her husband was dying they had stayed night and day with her when they might have been planting for their own use." However should someone other than the male owner die, they might destroy the crops in this fashion, but usually not. This reinforces the conviction that title to the land was vested in men, but that all members of the family had some presumptive right to its use.

Two crops a year were obtained, as today by the white farmers of the Gila-Salt valleys, by planting in the early spring and again in midsummer. This biannual cropping system was coördinate with a biannual calendar, the series of month names opening with the planting of the first crop in early February and repeated with the second crop of late July or early August. Since the month names were also those of the sibs, there has derived a triple association of sib, month, and plant as totem. This does not imply that the association was historically primary with the Maricopa, since the lower Colorado tribes share it. Only one cultivated plant was so associated; corn with xavâtca'c sib, the other totem plants being wild. Xavâtca'c was the name given the lunation during which corn was planted: January–February and again July–August.

Corn was planted when the trees budded in early February, following the drying off of the floods of the preceding month which left the fields soft and moist. Pumpkins, beans, and black-eyed peas were planted at the same time, watermelons and cotton a month later. The beans and peas ripened about May, corn and watermelons in June, and pumpkins during the summer. A second crop of all these was obtained by planting again during July and the first half of August. Pumpkins and watermelons planted early in July and corn in early August would be ripe when the frost came in November. Cotton was planted in a sep-

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edition of the dwelling; an open-sided, flat-roofed shade; a small structure resembling a gable roof set directly on the ground, built as needed for a storage house, for purification rites, for a girl's puberty rite, and as a menstrual hut. A small hemispherical sweat lodge was also built. Sometimes a temporary kitchen was made by erecting a screen of weeds to windward of the cooking place.

Housebuilding was man's work alone, whether a dwelling, storehouse, or meeting house: the women did not assist. A man was helped by his male friends and relatives in the construction of his dwelling. In building a meeting house, all the men of the village were engaged and built it in a day.

Dwellings stood indefinitely, until some one of the inmates died, when they were torn down and burned. This also happened on the infrequent occasions when relatives who had married were mourned as dead. A new house was erected elsewhere, so that the community was constantly crawling away from its original location. So great was the decimation from disease and warfare during the past century, that the shifting went on with some rapidity despite the localizing ties of available water supply and tillage. The movement may have been somewhat less in earlier times, but there is no doubt that the habit of shifting the locus is old and ingrained. Houses did not suffer much from the elements; rainfall is slight and confined largely to the spring, snow practically never falls. The dirt covering of the house needs no renewal; at most, it must be patched here and there.

The size of the dwelling naturally depended on the number of inmates it was intended to house. An average dwelling was about eighteen to twenty feet in diameter, larger houses perhaps twenty-five feet: Bartlett (1852) says fifteen to twenty-five feet.[3] It was built on level ground, no excavation being made.

For the ordinary dwelling, four cottonwood posts were set in the ground at the corners of a square, measuring nine or ten feet. These stood as high as a man could reach, about seven or eight feet, so that he could work at the ridge. (It must be remembered that these people are quite tall.) Yet Bartlett wrote, "These

[3] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 234.

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and by their actions he learned how to make successful issue of the battle. He dreamed only that he would be successful. His personal preparation was like that of all shamans: a series of dreams in which the spirits initiated him in the mysteries of his art until they were satisfied that he was fully prepared. There is a cactus more thorny than cholla, called ʻxu'l. He dreamed he saw these fighting in the form of humans. When they saw he was fitted for his position, these spirits took him into a large cave, the hollow interior of a mountain located in the enemy country. As he entered he saw a club, a shield, and a pike hanging on the wall. Each time he was taken there, they gave him the opportunity to learn the use of one of these until he was proficient with all. Then he was ready to lead in battle. His song first described the morning star (xomâce' kwâtai'ʰ, "big star"), which in some undefined way is connected with war. Just what was his function in battle was not ascertained. The last of such leaders among the Maricopa was named ka'ḳaiðo'.

The bearer of the feathered pike was a functionary known alike to Maricopa and Halchidhoma, and was represented among other lower Colorado tribes. He assumed no-flight obligations which placed him in the forefront of battle and in that sense was a war leader. But while Forde describes the pike of the Yuma as a battle standard sometimes planted in the ground and about which the forces rallied,[13] my informants explicitly and repeatedly denied this function among the Gila River tribes. The pike was carried by a man selected as the best warrior; quite infrequently two men had them. He used it as his weapon, supplemented by a club, and carried no shield. He was not the war captain, nor a dreamer. Carrying it entailed what was practically a no-flight obligation: the bearer must go always forward, never retreat. He was credited with fearlessness: even though his companions retreated, he rushed forward into the enemy's midst, to seize them by the hair and club them to death. Black paint covered his body and was drawn in a band across his eyes. His bangs were daubed red. At his death the pike was destroyed with the remainder of his personal possessions.

[13] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 167, 265.

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the extension of that word. (However, these words also mean a man's sibling's grandchild and grandparent's brother.) Reciprocal usage accounts for the same stem in son-in-law (ɪŋgwaxl,-ǽau'ǽ) and wife's parent (ɪnxĭl,ǽau'), but it is not clear why the wife's parents are not grouped with her other relatives. The sororate accounts for another exception: the words for wife's sister (ɪnyahwĭ') and a woman's sister's husband (ɪnkwĭnyǽhweya') are similar.[29] The levirate is not reflected in any analogous way. It will be observed that the grouping of relatives by marriage does not follow sib lines. There are no terms in use between the parents of a couple, for a parents' sister's husband, nor for step-siblings. They are not related. While some of the cousins of the collateral lines in the speaker's generation are called brothers or sisters, their spouses are not called by brother- or sister-in-law terms. The wives among them are called by the names of their sibs.

One feature of some western systems is absent here, namely, the change of a term on the death of the connecting relative. However, after the death of a husband or wife, the terms for their relatives are dropped: they are no longer related.

Verbal reciprocity is only weakly developed. The following reciprocals occur:

nǽvĭ', father's older brother
nǽpĭ', father's sister
nǽgwo', maternal grandfather

nǽkɪtc, grandparent's brother, step-father
cɪn,ǽkĭ's, grandparent's sister
ɪnxĭl,ǽau', wife's parent
ɪnkunyi', husband's parent, husband's sibling, husband's grandparent, a woman's step-child
ɪnyahwĭ', wife's sister

dŏkxǽmi'k, a man's father's brother's child

vĕtx', a man's younger brother's child
mĕnǽpi', a woman's brother's child
xaxgu'g, ŏxko', a man's daughter's child
kitcx', a man's sibling's grandchild, a man's step-child
ǽkĭ's, a woman's sibling's grandchild
ɪŋgwaxl,ǽau'ǽ, son-in-law
unyi', son's wife, brother's wife, grandson's wife, step-mother

ɪnkwĭnyǽhweya', woman's sister's husband

[29] They are probably more nearly alike than they are written; this was not checked. Together they are cognates of Mohave inyahuvik, wife's sister and woman's sister's husband (*ibid.*).

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533 not dream it, he merely danced it again." The probability is
787 that, of the songs in use at any one time, some were recognized as
[535] dreamed, others learned, with the assumption that singers of the latter would ultimately dream their songs as well. Obviously the Maricopa were minimizing the actual learning of the highly stylized songs, traditional or borrowed, in favor of their theory of dream origin.

177 The tribal song repertory must have been fluctuating, due to
533 intertribal diffusion and to death of the singers. Borrowing of songs on a wholesale scale is demonstrable among the Yumans and their neighbors, as Kroeber and Herzog have pointed out.[14] According to my own information various songs of the Maricopa and their guest tribes on the Gila were obtained from sources
533 outside. Songs were dropped on the death of their singers. At
[768] the cremation of a singer the mourners sang his songs, "only four of them," and then burned the gourd or basket drum he had used as accompaniment. By doing so they held the songs have been destroyed. The song lay fallow as it were until it was resurrected
[787] by a new dreamer. Two instances were given: Eagle was dreamed by a man who sang it once or twice and died. "They sang it no more." Dragonfly was "started again," but sung only a few times: the singer died. Recently they sang a man's favorite songs at his cremation, whether or not he had been a singer, and within a month or two began to sing them again.

Occasions for the use of songs were numerous. Not only were they in use at all social celebrations and dances, but provided incidental entertainment at evening gatherings in the meeting house when topics for discussion were exhausted. At such times
[756] shamans, almost without exception, sang their curing songs by way of entertainment. (So stated Kutox, but Last Star declared such songs were held secret for actual curing.) Some of these
[527] festivities recurred with annual regularity; for instance, the dances when the wheat came up in February and at the harvest of August–September, or at the sahuaro drinking bout in mid-June. Others were at irregular intervals during the year; at races and games. In times of starvation they went to other tribes

[14] *Loc. cit.*

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a man, his favorite horse decorated with paint (or several of them), was staked near by to be killed as soon as the pyre was lighted. The belief was that he could ride one to the land of the dead, packing the clothing, etc., on the others. 764 [775]

While the pyre was burning, an older man (called aume'vâ, "fire tender") poked with a long pole, running it under the corpse to let in the air, and pushing the blazing logs over the corpse so that it could not be seen. "For the relatives to see any of the corpse would make them sad." The end post was the last to finish burning. The breast and heart were held to be the last parts consumed.

All this time the relatives were about. Children and elders alike were forbidden to eat or drink. When the body was half cremated and again after it was consumed the speaker delivered an oration. After the pyre had burned to coals, everybody left except the fire tender. This would be early the next morning, e.g, if the cremation had begun early in the night. [262] [537]

When the fire had burned out, four holes were dug close to the heap of ashes, two on the south side, two on the north. Then the fire tender, starting at the west end of the heap, scraped the ashes alternately to the north and south of the center line. He then divided these two piles to the west and east, so as to form four piles. Each was put in its respective hole and covered with dirt. Dirt was also scattered over the whole place. "Then the rain obliterated all signs. It is better that way."

At the funeral of a man who was a singer, the Maricopa (but not the Halchidhoma) had singing and dancing; even the relatives rose to dance. They then returned to cry over the dead. The songs were those the dead man "had liked," i.e., those he had dreamed. The same songs and dance were repeated in their mourning ceremony. 766 533 535

Everything within the dead man's dwelling was destroyed. The objects were thrown into a hole dug beside the house, or sometmes within it. The house was then burned down. This was done because the sickness might have been left in the house, and also, if these articles were left about, the dead, returning, might be seen in dreams and the survivors sicken and die too. They 768 [775] [753]

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768 moved to a new locality, where a new house was built. This
[166] habit seems to have led to a constantly shifting occupation of the Gila valley, much accelerated by the epidemics incident to the coming of the whites.

765 The relatives would mourn for four days following the death. At the end of the fourth day, they were always visited by an older person who talked to them, admonishing them not to think of their dead relative for fear they might also sicken. He tried to get them to efface it from their minds. For this reason, there was no mourning ceremony, according to my Halchidhoma informant; but he later described the very full rite given below. After four days they resumed their normal occupations.

765 783 Purification (matarāč'k) was necessary for the mourning relatives, the speech-maker, and everyone else who had touched or tended the corpse. They threw all the clothing they wore into the pyre and went to bathe. (In fact, everyone who was present threw at least one article into it before leaving the spot.) On reaching home, before going to bed, they built a little fire on which arrowweeds were lain to smoke themselves. For four days
[262] they abstained from meat and salt, bathing each morning. Mourning relatives singed their hair short, not close.[1] The length
[587] of mourning was not fixed: some widows and widowers remarried within a few months, but it was usual to wait a year or two.

I several times observed an old woman walking alone wailing or rather groaning for relatives who had died some time before. But when she reached the house of her niece, where I was, she left off abruptly. I was told that she grieved all the time and that she dreamed of the dead.

551 769 The objection to naming the dead was very strong, so much so that it was very difficult to obtain genealogical material. This was not an absolute tabu but a strong repugnance. As elsewhere among Indians, mentioning a man's dead relatives (called nĭctcĭm'g) was comparable to cursing him. Kutox, commenting on this, said, "But every time I hurt myself I say, 'I have no grandmother; I have no grandfather.' Soon I will be with my dead relatives so I do not mind speaking of them."

[184] [1] Purification of mourners by bathing and smoking also occurred among the Yuma (Gifford, *Yuma Dreams*, p. 66) and the Mohave purified themselves by smoke in the scalp dance (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 752).

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He with the pike took the part of the deceased. Speech making went on all the time the sham fight continued, but there was no singing or dancing. At the end everyone stripped himself of clothing, weapons, etc., to place on the woodpile, which was then burned. 765 [537]

A mourning performance for a singer was described as follows. The Maricopa husband of the sole surviving Kohuana was a man who dreamed of the buzzard and sang Buzzard songs. Although he was ill, he accompanied a large party to Mexico, where he grew worse. His companions went farther, expecting to take him on their return. But a week later, when they returned, they found he had died and been buried (*sic*). The others came home. His relatives gathered at the dead man's house. They mourned two days: on the third day they built a pile of wood, sang and danced until late in the evening, when they burned everything. They burned the house and his possessions, threw away food, etc. This man had had four gourd rattles with which he taught, at night, anyone who wanted to learn his songs. Those who knew his songs well (Kutox, my informant, among them) sang at this time. The rattles were burned on the heap of clothing. Although this occurred sixty years ago, these songs were never sung again, until last year (1928) when an old man sang them. [768]

Normally the songs of the deceased singer were used at the cremation, again at the mourning rite, and never again. Of recent years, however, songs have been resurrected only a short time after cremation. [533] [178]

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The cradle was carried about a great deal, not used as by Zuñi and Havasupai, e.g., primarily as a convenient place for the child to sleep. It was carried lying flat, either balanced on the head or under the arm supported on the hip. For the first two months, it was not carried on the head, because that would make the navel sore, they thought. It was not only customary to balance it on the head without holding, but it was sometimes even perched on top of a load carried on the head, e.g., on an overloaded carrying basket of mesquite beans. Under the arm, the cradle lay flat with the infant's head forward. It was never stood upright on the hip. It was not provided with a carrying-strap, because it was never transported on the back.

Bartlett remarked (1852):

> I have seen them [women] in camp with a basket of green corn on their heads, and on top of this the cradle and child. When it gets to be about a year old, it is carried astride on the hip, the mother holding one arm around its body.[6]

Women were seen rocking cradles in a characteristic fashion. The woman, seated on the ground with her legs straight out before her, ankles crossed, laid the cradle crosswise on her lap. She first rocked it end for end with her hands; then continued the motion by slightly lifting the thighs alternately.

At home the baby was kept in a swing, whether in its cradle[7] or not. This was made in the manner of the Pima:[8] a doubled mescal fiber rope was fastened between two posts of the house or shade, with a cloth folded securely over its two halves. Baby or cradle was laid flat on this.

The mattress was always kept under the small of the baby's back, in or out of the cradle, until it was six months old, so that it would not become humpbacked.

When the cradle was outgrown, it was kept for the next child or given to a relative who had need of it. Should the infant die, the cradle was broken up and buried close to the spot where the corpse was cremated. The cradle itself was not burned.

The several parts of the cradle were named as follows: haði'k,

[6] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 231, 253.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 254. [8] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 156.